

BREADWINNERS' DISCONTENT.

The Real Cause of Restlessness and Complaint Among Wage Earners.

RELATIONS OF EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE.

Some Starting Comparisons About Strikes, Lock-outs and Boycotts—Facts and Figures.

Before's Magazine.
The fact of industrial discontent does not need to prove. The reasons for it have been searched for by business and professional men without much result. Some months ago a board of army officers examined several other commissioners as to the reasons why private soldiers deserted, but no one had any explanation of the phenomenon except that their non-commissioned officers were bad men. And so the men who receive profits and dividends and salaries have asked themselves and one another why the men who receive wages are discontented, and they have found out nothing except that in their judgment master workmen and working delegates are bad men.

The primary cause of restlessness and complaint among the wage earners is the consolidation of manufacturing and trading and transportation, which is the striking feature of this age, and which results in putting a large number of employees under one employer, or one firm or company of employers. The question now is not as to the present system [it] is to the facts. If a thousand or five thousand men find their wages fixed and their employment determined according to a single will, discontent is liable to breed among them. They may be well treated, but they do not know whether they are well treated or not, because they are not represented, and the question whether they shall live in comfort or in poverty, is determined by one man, who is in no way accountable to them in the sense that the buyer and seller have adverse interests; they are selling labor and he is buying, and he fixes the price.

A second cause of discontent is that the legislative and judicial institutions of the country, and the organs of public opinion, are as completely under the influence of the employers as the parliament, press, and bench of England were under the influence of the great landlords prior to the reform legislation that began in 1838. This may be a good thing, or it may be unfortunate, but it is a fact that the point at present is enough to postpone the first. Legislators and judges are mostly unsuccess-
ful men, in the counting-houses of the bar, and no man respects himself of the need of repairing a bridge that has carried him over the stream he does not cross. Most of the men who are employers, or socially, commercially and politically associated with employers. Their point of view is that of the employer. The employee feels like an Englishman under German or an Irishman under English government, and the law is made for him, and he does not care if he does not believe that it has any regard for him. The owner of a newspaper is necessarily an employer. In the absence he might sympathize with the strike leaders, but he has no right to do so, and the law settles the whole labor question and makes discussion徒劳的。The essential condition of social order is that the largest possible extent of society shall assign over its rights of self-government to the state.

The third cause of industrial discontent is an immediate result of the cause just mentioned. The laws are made by men who are rich, and who are received as deities, and when such men are considered and administered by men who, until they became judges, were the attorneys of corporates and private interests, which no small number of us would wish to be the leaders of the people. What passes for public sentiment is the sentiment of the exchange of the club, and of the men who can afford to own large fortunes. So universal is this that, while a man may be a member of a trade union, and advocate the interests of the moneyed class, he cannot advocate the interests of the poor and the wage-earners without being denounced as a leading newspaper is a demagogue and a scoundrel. He may be a member of a club, and denounce his pleasures without censure, but the bill of fare of an ordinary hotel dinner partially by a hired agent of labor is now going the rounds of the press to discredit this man with the public, and to give away their more than ten times greater expenses for publication, all to protect men who receive wages and dividends.

On July 8, 1886, six men went to the New York office distributing handbills asking people not to buy bread at Widow Landgraf's bakery. But on July 8, 1890, a grand jury in New York refused to indict the claimants, and had by concerted action, got out their employes there was a strike in the shop of one of the members of the association. And on August 15, 1890, five striking cigarmakers in Blighton were sentenced to one month in prison for violating the orders of "unlocking" the factories. Compare this sentence with the fine of \$30 which was imposed, September 16, on Clift, Con & Co., the largest collar and shirt manufacturers in Troy, N. Y., for locking out their employes in working summertime. "This is the sum," says a reporter from Troy, "which, through its watchfulness last week, excluded Deputy Attorney Hooper from the premises when he endeavored to get into the place to see whether the law was violated." The district attorney is quoted as saying that the lockout by the cloak-manufacturers was a fully covered by the "boycot" act of the state of New York, and that he could not get a grand jury composed almost entirely of employers, and including one of the richest men in the United States.

Now, who is in the commercial and professional classes? Is not the combination of men who combine to raise the rate of wages and protect the men who combine to lower the rate of wages? The truth is not often admitted, but it is frankly stated in one of its meetings, and is repeated by Mr. L. C. Tracy, a man wealthier than the man who was probably employed more free labor than any other man in history. He says: "Much of the objection that exists in the public mind toward trades unions rests, as must be confessed, on the general reluctance of men to make any sacrifice of their liberty. The commercial and professional classes are buyers of labor, and they resent any combination or act on the part of the sellers of labor that is calculated to enhance the value of labor."

There is, perhaps, no other act of organized labor more widely condemned than the sympathetic strike. This is condemned because the men who imagine themselves to be the leaders of the people are not the leaders. Yet the sympathetic lockout is a matter of common occurrence and hardly ever excites adverse comment in newspapers, clubs and exchanges. If a newspaper does describe an asymptotic lockout it is presented as a violation of one man's right to a merchant prince, railroad king and other pecuniary potencies that the editor of the paper is a demagogue, who is "pandering to the lower classes."

I have mentioned the fact that last summer there was a strike in one cigar shop in New York, the manufacturers, by concerted action, closed their shops and turned all their operatives out. In August last the owners of one of the largest cigar factories in the city, according to the reports attributed to him in the daily papers, said to have closed the repair shops and thrown twelve hundred men out of employment be-

cause some of the workmen were on a strike, and believed that the men in the repair shop were helping them. A dispute from Pittsburgh, September 5, announced the organization of a strike of men employed in the Washington works in Pittsburgh, the Yale Log and Coal's men eminences in Connecticut, and other organizations, employing 50,000 men, bound by an agreement that if there was a strike in one establishment all the other establishments should discharge their workmen until the strikers had submitted to their masters, and that a man who struck in one of the associated establishments was not to be employed by any other one. This strike was reported to have begun in one of the associations in Lynn, Mass. On September 1st, all the manufacturers were notified by the working delegate of their union—I mean the secretary of the association—to take out a resolution to August 1, 1890, but it was not done, not by Mr. John T. Nuttall, but by the Monroe Manufacturers Association in Lynn, that if the men wished to retain two weeks in John T. Moulton's shop they must go into it, and pay for it, and without accountability to any one. Not if a railroad company picked out for dismissal its Knights of Labor, but all the democrats in its employ, and all the communists in its employ, and all the socialists in its employ, and all the people who imagine the acts of a railroad manager to be too high and sacred to be required into, would bid the acts and motives of the railroad manager legitimate subjects of investigation.

It is what sort of men are these railroad magnates who are to be denominated sacred as kings need to be. The interstate commerce commission quotes with approval the judgment of the senate committee on inter-state commerce that railroad management has been guilty of a want of responsibility in investigating the passenger rate war in Chicago two years ago, and his report shows the railroad officials in the act of defying the law, sacrificing the interests of the stockholders, and the public welfare, and the public safety, and surreptitiously combining with the "scalpers" to cheat the public, and then lying about it. Judge Gresham's decision in a case involving the Wabash railroad receivership, and the railroads of that state, and the potential rail road men in the country, forced friends and swindlers to withdraw before his wisdom, and he was smitten with her charms. This resulted in long walks through the valleys and beside the babbling brooks, and as the birds sang about them, the couple pledged their love and their fidelity to each other.

So now we have the miners dead and a Mrs. Jane Whitney, a widow of fifty years, was employed as housekeeper to look after the affairs about the farm home. In his country home, Nathan, who was a young man of forty, had been smitten with her beauty, and he told her of his love, and she told him that she was a member of a labor organization. These years are thirty-seven. New Jersey leather manufacturers bound themselves to each other under a penalty of death not to employ a knight of labor. Last winter the association of Long Island railroad discharged the telegraph operators at Jamaica and Morris Park because they had been chosen officers in the Oriental Telegraphers and all other operators were to be dismissed.

The president of the Spring Valley coal company in Illinois had decided that after the strike in that mine in 1889 the members of the relief committee among the miners had been blackmailers, and he proposed to make every man of the miners responsible, but the miners were not members of the Brotherhood, and thereby render it impossible for his competitors to make their money. The Spring Valley company, whose agent offered to do this, and the miners refused to do it, and the miners were not members of the Brotherhood, and thereby render it impossible for his competitors to make their money. The Spring Valley company, whose agent offered to do this, and the miners refused to do it, and the miners were not members of the Brotherhood, and thereby render it impossible for his competitors to make their money.

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Love was made to her, and in due time returned, but as business was not good, the doctor had to leave, and she had to practice her profession, and with Mrs. Day absent, Chicago could not hold Folson, so he resolved to seek a special position in the world.

The older Folson was anxious that she should make the trip and urge her to go. In the time of Folson's absence, he wrote to the widow that Jane received was not a warm one. She was informed by her lover that the fires of love had not only burned low, but had gone out forever. The shores of the lake were still, and the water was still, and she determined to shun the mortal coil, but she clung to him and determined to live and learn the world.

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If this is the conduct of railroad managers toward the public, upon whom they depend for their existence, and the public upon whom they depend to whom they turn to be responsible, how wise and just are they! The treatment of the employees whom they acknowledge to be dependent, and to whom they do not feel responsible!

FRED PEPPER POWERS.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

carry things with a high hand and trust scarcely to public irritation to force the employment into submission. The corporations do sometimes do this, and they do it well, but all the employees must keep business going no matter what the terms are. Halfway and telegraphic employees are to be deemed soldiers in an army and subjected to military discipline, and this is the way the public guarantees its soldiers continuity of employment, trial before dismissal, a pension in case of sickness, injury, or pension for surviving widow or dependents in case of death.

What does the public guarantee railway employees? What do the railroad companies guarantee them? Why, brokenmen are round up under the wheels every week because they are not paid, or because they are not paid, and the public, the nation, will not compel the companies to incur the expense. The railway companies will soon crush brokenmen and turn them passengers until the day of judgment comes, and then they will think of nothing but carousing and carousing.

To sum up a certain class, it seems to be conclusive of all debate to say that if a midway company must have the right to dismiss its employees at will, and the public can do without accountability to any one, but if a railroad company picked out for dismissal its Knights of Labor, but all the democrats in its employ, and all the communists in its employ, and all the socialists in its employ, and all the people who imagine the acts of a railroad manager to be too high and sacred to be required into, would bid the acts and motives of the railroad manager legitimate subjects of investigation.

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Matters continued in this manner for some time, but in the end, when the man with all his ardor and heart, The love of one was returned, but for the other there was nothing but sorrow. On June 16, 1888, Judge McCullough of the county court performed the ceremony that made Nathan Folson and Mrs. Day man and wife.

The information was conveyed to Mrs. Folson, but she refused to believe it true, still clinging to the delusion that someday Folson would repeat again his as his wife.

The husband, however, had taken from his trunk, fondly gazed at and then repacked, with the remark, "Nate will return some day and fulfill the promise that he made."

The fond love dreams of earthly love and devotion were never realized, and as years rolled away, time and arrow whitened the tresses of golden hair that had beautified the head of the country girl.

After years of waiting, her health broke down, and she was unable to enter the bright room, where she remains today, a poor old and decrepit woman.

The wife lived happily with her husband, but when the great shock came a few weeks ago, she was very ill and died, and the funeral cortège went to the grave.

On that day the inmates of the home could not understand why an old woman sat by the window and cried like a child in the corner, and the neighbors knew not why she understood why a whitened old lady weeps bitterly whenever the name of Nathan Folson is mentioned.

There was a report that Mrs. Whitney will sue for damages against Folson, and his wife, who was a widow in the Scotchman's Mutual Benefit association, but this is false. She says that while Folson was untrue to his pledges, she will lay no claim to the property he owned.

A black man (Mich.) family sends the children to the country school, some distance away, in a peculiar manner. It has an ebony door, and yet the weight of 30 pounds.

Charles Johnson, of Amber township, Mason county, Michigan, is only sixteen years old and yet he weighs 310 pounds.

John (Pa.) a midget, two feet tall, and weighs 125 pounds, and yet he is twice as strong as a man of 180 pounds.

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